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Ike's Program—and the Congress

New Republic

Eisenhower's Real Decision

The War of the Future Will Be A War of Annihilation

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T. R. B. *Washington Wire*

Bible Belt Senators are now ready to act against McCarthy—for the wrong reason. It is not because he is a Fascist, but because he is a Catholic. Again involved is the delicate issue of religion in politics.

Catholics justifiably feel a sense of political discrimination in America. They are the largest denomination with about 30 million members; the various Protestant sects list 49 million; Jews, 1.5 million. On the Supreme Court today there is no Catholic; there is only one in the Cabinet; out of 96 Senators there are only nine Catholics. Catholics will not forget the venom poured on the great Al Smith, in 1928.

Today McCarthy has a tremendous gravitational pull on Catholic masses. He is attacked by Catholic highbrow weeklies, *America* and *Commonweal*, but supported by church organs with larger circulation, *The Tablet* and *The Sunday Visitor*. This support may articulate a hidden inferiority complex keyed to Protestant bigotry. It certainly identifies McCarthy as the political mouthpiece of the attitude expressed by powerful prelates, that the Church has a sort of vested interest in the anti-Communist fight which interprets the global struggle as one between Rome and Moscow.

McCarthy arrogantly picked as his staff director last July J. B. Matthews, who declared that, "The largest single group supporting the Communist apparatus in the United States today is composed of Protestant clergymen." Shortly afterwards came the Velde Committee's attack on Methodist Bishop Oxnam. It should be said that both Velde and Matthews are Protestants. But the impression grew that an anti-Protestant drive over the "Red" issue is underway. McCarthy insisted on his sole right to pick his staff, and the three Democratic members of the subcommittee properly resigned. After first defending Matthews, McCarthy let him go.

This is the kind of situation that doesn't get into press accounts but that deeply affects politics. Conservative Arkansas Sen. John McClellan worked closely with McCarthy in Red witch-hunts but is now up for re-election. From deep in what Henry Mencken called "the Bible Belt," McClellan has broken with McCarthy on the Protestant issue. After the Matthews appointment Southern Senators no longer feared McCarthy.

Curiously enough, McCarthy gets his biggest financial support from the South—Texas. This comes from a group of multi-millionaire oil primitives, created by the depletion-allowance tax loophole which McCarthy always supports. McCarthy's anti-intellectualism enthralls them. The *Milwaukee Journal* has just analyzed this strange tie-up. H. L. Hunt, whose nationwide *Facts Forum* backs McCarthy, may be the richest man in America. He filed a TV license statement that his income *after taxes* is "in excess of one million dollars a year." Another Texas oil primitive is Eugene Biggers who helped give McCarthy his $6,000 Cadillac wedding present. Biggers says this country is in danger and one reason he is for McCarthy, he tells the *Milwaukee Journal*, is because "there are too many Jews in Washington."

If a dictator should seek power in America, he would first grab two places—the Justice Department with its FBI files, and the Bureau of Internal Revenue with its confidential income-tax files. Brownell and J. Edgar Hoover have already shown what can be done politically with the FBI secret dossiers, in the Harry Dexter White case. (Parenthetically, the Democrats will almost certainly let Hoover out if they recapture the White House in 1956.) Significantly, McCarthy is now associating with T. Coleman Andrews, the Commissioner of Internal Revenue. If secret FBI files can be used for political purposes, so can secret tax returns. They have never heretofore been so used in America, but the same thing could be said—until recently—of the FBI folders. Theoretically, Andrews is supposed to be investigating McCarthy's own amazing finances as revealed by a Senate subcommittee. Actually Andrews has been acting as McCarthy's host, introducing him cordially to an audience as "one of the great Americans of our age." By the purest coincidence McCarthy announces that he is launching an investigation into income-tax settlement cases (not his own). If the Red issue plays out, McCarthy may find a new vein here.

As Gerald Johnson wrote last week, the whole nation aches for leadership and yearns for Eisenhower to supply it. It is important to hear the new Eisenhower legislative program, but more important is to find out whether Ike will fight for it. Offhand it is hard to discover a single favorable omen for Ike in Congress. The GOP majority is thin and the "leader," Senator Knowland, has just once more walked out on the White House; this time the issue is over channeling defense contracts to distressed areas of unemployment. Senator Knowland deserted Eisenhower earlier on the issue of allied trade with Red China.

Ike's State of the Union message was preceded by four weeks of the most brilliant Madison Avenue publicity build-up we have ever seen, it was as competent and professional as the launching of a new Chevrolet model. But introducing a new GM product and a Presidential program are different things! This program will get through only if Ike drops his aloofness and fights for it. It won't be easy even so. A new Crossley, Inc. poll, made for the *Boston Post*, indicates the GOP would lose 40 seats in the House (and of course control) if an election were held today. Ike may still save his party, but the party almost certainly can't save itself.

There are only about 40,000 members of ADA (Americans for Democratic Action), but they are a pain in the neck to some Democratic hacks. Nothing better illustrates the power of an earnest pressure group with convictions. Some Democratic leaders now urge ADA to disband; they are sick and tired of convictions in politics. But as long as US parties won't take sides or formulate positions, like-minded men will band together outside to push their views. Even now the only difference between the two parties in many areas is that one is "in" and the other "out."

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Noteworthy This Week

BEHIND THE HEADLINES

Housing Retreat

THE REPORT of the President's Committee on Government Housing Policies recommends that public housing be continued on the principles set forth in the Housing Act of 1937. Given the make-up of the Commission, respect for these principles is in itself surprising. But beyond this general show of virtues, the report is disappointing.

The Commission could have ascertained the housing needs of the nation and evaluated the merits and shortcomings of present programs in terms of ability to provide adequate housing, old and new, in satisfactory neighborhoods for various income groups, and followed up with recommendations to remedy the deficiencies uncovered. It did not. It has ignored the comprehensive approach and proposed a series of amendments to the existing program with no indication of how they relate to our housing needs in terms of either quantity or cost.

The size of the proposed program, for example, is ignored. The Housing Act of 1949 required a program of 135,000 homes a year for six years—a total of 810,000. But Congress has consistently reduced the number until last year the Republicans slashed it to a mere 20,000 homes for this year. Since 1949, only 187,199 low-rent homes have been or are being built under public housing. In the absence of any recommendation by the Commission to attain the 810,000 figure authorized by the 1949 Act, the Public Housing Administration is contemplating a program of not more than 35,000 units a year. The emphasis of the Commission's report is entirely on conservation and rehabilitation of existing homes and neighborhoods. If considered as part of a whole local housing problem, such a program would have merit. But by itself it actually reduces available housing and makes no provision for rehousing the families it will displace.

One of the report's key recommendations is to provide 40-year mortgages—100-percent government insured—for houses costing between $7,600 and $8,600. It is doubtful if adequate homes can be built in most cities at those prices or that such houses will not become slum dwellings long before the mortgage period terminates.

Another key Commission proposal is for replacement of the Federal National Mortgage Association by a federally chartered but privately financed National Mortgage Marketing Corporation. Such a move would leave direction of the central mortgage reserve in the hands of savings and loans institutions whose policies have made a federal mortgage agency necessary. These institutions have never made loans on the terms proposed by the Commission.

The nation needs an effective agency to provide government credit for middle income and veteran housing, co-operatives, and newer housing where private credit is unobtainable. It needs more homes to house an increasing population and to rehouse families displaced by slum clearance projects. The Commission's report pays only lip-service to these needs and recommends "further study." Its report is a retrogression from the statesmanlike document issued by the late Senator Taft when he was Chairman of the Subcommittee on Housing and Urban Redevelopment shortly after World War II.

Tideland Sales

WHILE loudly denying its value, oilmen have rushed in to lease the Texas "tidelands." On December 1, 1953, 24 bidders paid approximately $31.5 million for 5-year rights to some 400,000 acres of land off the Texas coast. The average price paid was $78 an acre, and oilmen have found this a useful figure in arguing that the submerged lands are all but worthless. In truth, this low figure has far less relation to the actual value of the lands leased than to the cleverness of H. L. Hunt—friend and backer of Joe McCarthy and angel for the *Facts Forum* television and radio shows—whom the Luce magazines have called America's richest oilman.

Bidding under a number of different names, Hunt got away with the lion's share of the Texas tidelands at astonishingly low prices. He bought rights to the oil and gas under 101,146 acres of the Gulf for $611,640—an average of $6 an acre.

In contrast, Humble Oil, largest subsidiary of Standard Oil, New Jersey, bought 47,795 acres for approximately $4.5 million, or $93 an acre. The Gulf Oil Corporation paid nearly $3.5 million for 7,040 acres—$490 each. And Magnolia Petroleum handed over $349 for each of 17,920 acres—nearly $6.3 million.

Accepted bids ranged from $5.07 to $728.28 per acre, a fact not suggested by the $78 average. And the curious argument that the willingness of oilmen to spend $31.5 million for something is evidence of its small value becomes doubly curious when the figures are freed from the effect of Hunt's manipulations.

It should not be assumed that Hunt bid low only on land of dubious worth. On one tract of 1,075 acres, for example, Hunt bid $5,643—$5.25 per acre. The tract was sold to Standard Oil, Texas, for $777,227—over $720 an acre. So huge a discrepancy would suggest that the Hunt bid was hardly serious. But Hunt got 59 of his 65 leases unopposed—many for $5.25 per acre.

Texas so far has leased 20 percent of the 2.5 million acres given it last year by Congress. The state now has jurisdiction out to the 10.5 mile mark. But the Gulf floor slopes gently and there are vast acres beyond that mark which

Elmer Davis Returns

On Sunday, January 10, Elmer Davis returns to his broadcasting post. In next week's *New Republic*, by way of welcoming him back, a number of his friends will discuss the origin and contribution of Mr. Davis' commentary and the present status of news reporting on radio and TV.

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are still federal land and which can be tapped. And the oilmen expect those acres to be offered for terms as soft as those set by the state. If past behavior is any indication, they will be eager to lease this presumably still less valuable land—especially since oil produced there will not be subject to Texas state tax of 12 cents a barrel.

Outlook for '54

THE PRINCIPAL question for 1954, according to the National City Bank of New York, is whether falling orders, starting with even modest inventory adjustments and modest declines in various categories of demand "will spiral into reduced employment, falling purchasing power and curtailment feeding on itself."

The bank believes that construction and investment, coupled to federal, state and local government spending, all of which have remained steady, will provide a good foundation for another busy year. But it notes that business circles, while taking these supports into account, do not expect that they can fully sustain activity. In addition, there is doubt that present indications with respect to construction and capital goods will be fully realized.

"The fear," says the Bank, "is that these programs may be undermined by a drop in the flow of orders, resulting from cutbacks in inventory or declines in consumer demand, all leading to reduced operations, lower profit expectations and less willingness to make new investments."

Judge Trading

FEDERAL court calendars in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Colorado, Tennessee and several other states are loaded with untried cases. New federal judges are desperately needed. But an omnibus judgeship bill which would provide them has been blocked by Sens. Pat McCarran (D, Nev.) and Arthur V. Watkins (R, Utah).

McCarran and Watkins, powerful members of the Senate Judiciary Committee, have insisted that the bill include new judgeships for their own sparsely populated states. They succeeded in writing their wishes into the Senate version of the bill, passed during the last session, but the House eliminated the provision. The House and Senate bills were sent to conference, and both McCarran and Watkins were named as Senate Conferees. They refused to consider the House version, and the House Conferees refused to change it.

These Congressmen point out that although there are 12,000 civil cases, and over 1,000 civil cases pending on the Federal District Court calendar in the southern district of New York alone, there are only approximately 100 civil cases pending in all of Nevada and another 100 in all of Utah. In New York's southern district it now takes an average of 42 months, three and one-half years, to settle a civil case after it is filed. The national average is 12 months. In Utah it is seven months. Utah had 177 new cases last year and Nevada only 74. The national average is 236 cases per judge.

It is these statistics which cause House Conferees to be adamant. They insist that McCarran and Watkins want the new judgeships for patronage and to bolster their own prestige. Yet, if the Senators choose, they can block the much-needed bill in the coming session.

Down A Peg?

BEFORE January 31 the Senate Rules Committee will recommend to the Senate this year's appropriation for Senator McCarthy's Government Operations Committee. Members of the Senate may at that time attach conditions to the suggested appropriation.

It now looks as though Democrats will offer at least three riders, all designed to limit McCarthy's wide investigative powers.

1. Sen. John McClellan (D, Ark.), who last year led the resignation of the Democratic members from the McCarthy Committee in protest against the appointment of J. B. Matthews because Matthews had made serious charges against the Protestant clergy, will endeavor to restrict McCarthy's power as Committee Chairman. He will ask that approval of a majority of the members be required before the committee hires staff, issues subpoenas or chooses subjects to investigate.

2. Sen. Pat McCarran (D, Nev.) has charged that McCarthy's Permanent Investigations Subcommittee encroaches upon the jurisdiction of Senator Jenner's Internal Security Subcommittee, and may suggest that the McCarthy Committee

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keep out of the subversion field entirely.

3. Sen. Guy Gillette (D, Iowa) wants to rescind the McCarthy Committee's authority to investigate foreign affairs matters, and to confine such authority to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, where he feels it properly belongs. McCarthy exploits in the foreign field include his deal last year with Greek shipowners, and recently, his attempts to set off a telegram bombardment of the White House to end aid to allies who trade with China.

Indo-China

THE COMMUNIST drive across the waist of Indo-China seems to have aimed at, and to have attained, a psychological rather than a military victory. Less than 5,000 lightly armed marauders cannot control a hundred-mile front. But while the French official position is one of unconcern, and the French military see the drive as a transparent attempt to draw French forces from the Red River Delta, the coincidence of the drive with renewed peace feelers from Ho Chi Minh and the withdrawal of two American divisions from Korea has had a profound impact upon French opinion.

The Indo-China war has always been unpopular in France. But as long as the allies were suffering losses in Korea, the French could feel that they were sacrificing in a common effort. Since Korean hostilities ended, the desire to end or to share the Indo-China conflict has grown. The American withdrawal has brought that desire to a pitch. There will now be increasingly powerful pressures in France to use the possibility of an armistice as a lever for "Koreanizing" the Indo-China war—to demand that troops as well as money and equipment be made available.

Miss Issue of 1954

WHEN President Eisenhower said that Communism would *not* be a significant issue in the coming Congressional elections there was heard, from some Republican back rooms, the sound of cynical laughter.

What the main issue will in fact be as the campaign gets under way is probably suggested by what is taking place in Minnesota.

The opening blows in the Congressional race in that state have been repeated charges of Democratic "softness toward Communism."

Minnesota's Republican Governor, C. Elmer Anderson, spoke against Sen. Hubert Humphrey, who is up for re-election this year, saying: "Citizens . . . want a Senator who has not been involved in any effort to disregard and play down the threat of Communists in government." He went on to criticize and urge defeat of two of Minnesota's Democratic Congressmen. Rep. Eugene McCarthy of St. Paul had several years ago backed a plan to increase job protection for federal employees which, the Governor charged, "would have guaranteed to Harry Dexter White and his kind continued protection in government employment." And Rep. Roy Wier of Minneapolis, the Governor went on, is "a man who has consistently voted against support of the House Un-American Activities Committee."

Governor Anderson has been endorsed by the state-wide Young Republican League to run against Humphrey for the Senate but has not agreed to take on the race. If he does decide to run, he can count on the assistance of Senator McCarthy, who is ready to go into Minnesota to campaign against Humphrey if invited to do so, according to Victor Johnson, director of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee.

Mr. Johnson, a former administrative assistant to Senator McCarthy, believes, along with his ex-boss and Minnesota's Governor, that Communism will be an issue in the 1954 campaign, "and at least for a good many years to come."

Right To Restrain Freely

GERMANY is a busy place. And the German businessman is the busiest German of them all. At the moment, while scooping out choice markets in the Middle East, Spain, South America and India, he is simultaneously reconstructing his prewar cartel system and, in the name of free enterprise, demanding that the Bonn Government hand over vast state-owned industries built up over decades.

For eight years, the US and her allies have tried to split up the vast industrial, commercial and banking trusts upon which Hitler built his power. Now the splinters are once more drawing together.

Three banks — the Deutsche, the Dresdner and the Commerz — dominated Hitler's Germany. They were broken into nine independent, separately managed regional units. Recently, the three parts of the old Deutsche giant, situated in Hamburg, Dusseldorf and Frankfurt, issued separate annual reports. The reports were identical, word for word. And everyone on West Germany's Wall Street assumes that the old "big-three" will soon be reassembled.

The I. G. Farben chemical empire—largest single industrial combine in Europe, a "state-within-a-state" which was involved in more than 150 domestic and international cartel agreements—was to be pulverized into 80 separate units. The latest plan is to divide it, possibly, into five independent firms.

The old, powerful trade associations are reborn and robust. And with them have come the means for re-cartelization: price-fixing, and production and sales quotas within each industry.

Although still forbidden to make civil or military aircraft, the five surviving producers—Heinkel, Messerschmitt, Dornier, Focke-Wulf and Daimler-Benz—have formed one such association, the Aero Union, with the express purpose of eliminating competition, allocating contracts and generally carving up the market in a gentlemanly fashion.

Already busily fixing prices, in violation of occupation decrees, before the European Coal-Steel Community was launched, the Ruhr iron and steel magnates dream of transforming that organization into the logical continuation of the International Steel Cartel of 1926.

The Bonn Government has done nothing to thwart the efforts of the industrialists. Only one, fascinating, bill affecting cartels has received any serious attention from the Bundestag. Its first article prohibits cartels, the balance of the bill lists exceptions to that prohibition. There are almost no exceptions to these exceptions, and the bill, in effect, permits and encourages cartelization. The Bundestag also has almost unanimously restored guild controls, invalidated by the allies, restricting the free entry of Germans into many industries.

This co-operative mood among Bundestag members has, it seems, encouraged the industrialists to push still further. The Bonn Government controls approximately one-third of the entire industrial production of the country today, including coal and iron mines, steel plants, chemical works, electric power plants, aluminum factories and nitrogen fertilizer plants. It is the biggest single producer of automobiles in the country (Volkswagen) and one of the biggest producers of coal, iron ore, electrical energy and chemicals. The industrialists in Germany see in them an opportunity to acquire huge capital assets at low prices and on a favorable long-term basis

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Eisenhower's "Dynamic" Program—

THE PROGRAM Eisenhower has presented to the new session of Congress was formulated from convictions. It is likely to founder on expediency. The President's drive for enactment of his program and the reaction of the Congress to it will both be heavily influenced by the fact that 1954 is an election year. Election considerations will come first with a majority of the Congress. And regardless of what he might wish to be the case, they must also influence Eisenhower as the leader of his party.

Every important proposal Eisenhower has made is controversial in this election year, and the likelihood as a result is that he will get few of the things he wants.

The arithmetic is simple. The Republicans are now actually in the minority in the Senate and have a margin of only four seats in the House. The actual party line-up is:

	House	Senate
Republicans	219	47
Democrats	215	48
Independents	1	1

Eisenhower's personal majority is even more shaky. Republican ranks are no more solid now in actuality than they were when Sen. Robert Taft stood as a constant opposition threat. Two-thirds of the present Congress preferred the Senator to the General for President in the first place, and few of them have changed basically. In the Senate those Republicans whose personal convictions clash sharply with those expressed by Eisenhower outnumber those whose ideas parallel the President's. Considerations of party unity in an election year will cause some of these, especially GOP leaders, to modify their opposition to Eisenhower's proposals and seek to postpone a real showdown until after 1954. But the split in his party will create a serious problem for the President on each individual issue.

Democratic Aid: Eisenhower had the Opposition to thank for more than half of the victories he won on tests of Administration strength in Congress. *Congressional Quarterly* lists 83 such roll-calls during the first session; in 58 of the victories he scored, Eisenhower needed Democratic votes to win:

Last year the problem of the split was not disastrous because the Democrats came to the rescue.

	Roll-Call Tests	President Won
Senate	49	43
House	34	31
Total	83	74

	President Lost	Democrats Provided Winning Margin
Senate	6	38
House	3	20
Total	9	58

Given these circumstances, the logical course for a President resolved to achieve the objectives stated by Eisenhower would be to ally himself firmly with the moderate and progressive elements of his own party and strive to maintain the Democratic support he received in the first session. But it is here that election pressures tend to become determining. If the Republicans are to win enough additional seats to establish real majorities in both houses, the President is told, he must stress party unity in this Congress and make a show of opposing Democratic programs.

As Eisenhower presses for party advantage in order to widen the Republican margin, the Democrats will surely lessen their co-operation. Pressure will also be on Democrats up for re-election —like Sen. Richard Russell of Georgia— to differentiate themselves from Republicans in the eyes of the voters. And missing will be the strong hand of Senator Taft which guided many a Southern Democrat across the aisle to vote with the GOP in deal after deal. No other Republican has the working relationship Taft had with the Southerners. The pull on Southern Democrats in 1954, with their party out of power, is on the contrary, as their leader Senator Russell has stated, toward Democratic Party regularity for the first time in many years.

Returning Democratic Congressmen talk loudly of the need for more partisan spirit in the coming session. There is hot resentment over Brownell's playing politics with the Harry Dexter White case and indignation over Governor Dewey's statement that Democrats "are afraid the American people will discover what a nice feeling it is to have a government which is not infested with spies and traitors." Both Senate and House minority leaders, Lyndon Johnson and Sam Rayburn of Texas, strongly favor continued moderation in their party's attitude toward Eisenhower, however, and that fact together with the deep convictions of most Democrats on certain issues will probably guarantee Eisenhower their continued backing on foreign aid and foreign trade at least. On matters of domestic policy, the record this year will probably be different.

Foreign Policy: Votes in the last session of Congress provide a rough guide to what the President may expect this year since only a handful of the members are new. When the Senate went on record in 1953 for reducing the Administration request for foreign-aid funds by $1 billion, one-half of the Republicans voted against the President, exactly one-half for him. Twice as many Democrats supported foreign aid as opposed it, to save the day for the Administration. Nineteen Republicans voted in favor of withholding any kind of aid from nations trading with China. In the House 80 Republicans opposed any foreign-aid authorization at all. And on the issue of tariffs, 105 protectionist Republicans opposed the Administration freer trade position. One hundred thirty-seven Democrats joined 104 Republicans to prevent the House from restricting the President's power to lift trade restrictions.

The Senators who led the fight against foreign aid last year—Capehart and Jenner (Ind.), Dworshak and Welker (Idaho), Malone (Nev.), Bricker (Ohio), Martin (Pa.), Mundt (S. Dak.), McCarthy (Wis.)—are together again as bitter-end opponents of reciprocal trade agreements as proposed by Eisenhower. Malone will lead the pack. Among the leaders, Knowland and Millikin personally oppose the program but may out of party responsibility in an election year back a compromise for simple extension of the present Trade Agreements Act for one more year. Eisenhower has repeatedly warned that our allies cannot bear the economic burden of defense unless our trade laws are

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And the Republican Congress It Faces

relaxed in their favor. But there are too many Republican Senators in accord with the high tariff views of the coal, lead, zinc, copper and chemical industries, the wool manufacturers and the oil companies opposing the import of fuel oil, to make possible even simple extension of the present unworkable law without heavy Democratic support for the Administration.

Agriculture: The President and his Secretary of Agriculture have deepened an old split in their efforts to work out a substitute for the Democratic farm-price-support program which will expire at the end of this year. The two sides of Republican Congressional opinion are represented by Sen. George Aiken of Vermont, Chairman of the Senate Agriculture Committee and Rep. Cliff Hope of Kansas, House Agriculture Committee Chairman. Hope advocates rigid price supports at the 90 percent of parity level now in effect, but he does not insist on retention of the Democratic law without change. Aiken agrees generally with Secretary Benson that a sliding scale of non-mandatory supports should replace the 90-percent requirement. The protests from farmers at the suggestion of relaxing rigid supports has so impressed Congress that the Administration has lost hope of making any major change in the present system until another election has passed.

Taxes: Tax expiration in the first half of 1954 can mean an $8 billion annual loss in federal revenue. The Administration has admitted that "only relatively small reductions" in federal spending can be made now. To help close the $8 billion gap the Administration proposes that we continue some corporation taxes and excise taxes scheduled to expire in April. The Congressional czar over such matters, Chairman Dan Reed of the House Ways and Means Committee, opposed Eisenhower's tax proposals all through the first session and is now bent on cutting another $1.5 billion in taxes before considering the Treasury plan for some new ones. Reed fought Eisenhower's effort to keep the excess-profits tax last year. When word came from the recent Republican strategy conferences at the White House that further tax reductions were not practical now, Reed announced to the contrary that he saw no reason to rule them out. House members, thinking of the coming campaign, are looking kindly on Reed's approach. If the Administration should ask for some form of a national manufacturers' excise tax, Speaker Joe Martin himself has promised to lead the opposition.

House Democrats are in no mood to save Eisenhower's skin on this issue. In fact, the Democrats are considering a counter-move of their own for a "second round tax cut." They may move for recommital of the Republican tax bill to increase individual exemptions from $600 to $700 for millions in the lowest income brackets, arguing that if the Republicans want to cut taxes to bolster consumer spending, this is the way to do it.

Foreseeing the difficulties of getting Congress to authorize new taxes to make up the deficit this year, the Administration is pushing for a prompt $15 billion increase in the present $275 billion limit on the national debt. A rise in the debt ceiling will surely be voted, but the Democrats, led by the dedicated Sen. Harry Byrd of Virginia, can complicate things for the Administration by voting the desired increase $5 billion at a time, thus making the need for more revenue a greater harassment.

Housing: Even in its modest proposals for extending some few phases of the public-housing program, the Administration is handicapped by having as chairmen of the committees which will consider the legislation two prejudiced opponents of the whole public-housing principle, Senator Capehart of Indiana and Representative Wolcott of Michigan. The general Republican record on public housing is almost equally unsympathetic. House Republicans voted 5 to 1 last year against any public-housing construction at all; Democrats, 2 to 1, to extend the program.

Social Security: The election climate may aid Eisenhower's proposal to extend social security to "presently uncovered persons," but there will be powerful efforts to break the back of the whole system under cover of remodeling the basic Social Security Act. This legislation again falls into the hands of the Ways and Means Committee and Rep. Dan Reed who has been as reluctant in the past to spend money on social security as to raise taxes. The subcommittee chairman for social security, Rep. Carl Curtis (Neb.), has generally represented the US Chamber of Commerce point of view on old age insurance. The Chamber favors a system which would provide pensions of $25 a month to everyone (compared to the present inadequate $42 a month), after 65—at the expense of those who have contributed for years to the fund. Extension of a system of reasonable benefits to more people—which Eisenhower implies is his wish—has had overwhelming Republican opposition in the past. A proposal in the 80th Congress to provide social security to 500,000-750,000 additional workers was opposed by 98 percent of the Republicans in the Senate. A 1949 bill in the House to strengthen social security was defeated with 80 percent of the Republicans voting to weaken it.

To assure maximum time for attention to these large problems, the Administration hopes to dispose of such troublesome matters as the St. Lawrence Seaway project, statehood for Hawaii and the Bricker Amendment as first orders of business. Attorney General Brownell has also announced early introduction of his proposals for limiting the protection of the Fifth Amendment and for authorizing wire-tap evidence. Any one of these five matters is capable of setting off a filibuster and thus damaging the timetable. The Administration has decided to run that risk.

The President himself has set the standard. The Republicans will not deserve to stay in office if they do not enact his program, he has announced. Critics could add that the year required to produce that program by the tedious study commission process might better have been spent in Congressional consideration free from election year pressures. Eisenhower's year of postponement may have cost his party the record of achievement needed to attract the voters.

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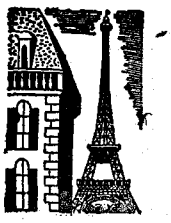
Paris Dispatch: THE BERLIN CONFERENCE

A large majority of Western Europeans found in the Dwight Eisenhower of the UN speech—even more in his tone and attitude than in his proposals—the kind of man they would like to accept as their personal friend—the kind of leader of the free world for whom peace is a means as well as an end. Even such newspapers as the *Monde* of Paris, usually neutralist and often anti-US, hailed the General's words as those of a sincere, just and fair friend, accepting allies as equals, and in a language which "any sensible man anywhere, regardless of his political views, can and should use."

Yet the enthusiasm, more widespread and fulsome than for any Eisenhower statement since he entered the White House, contrasted startlingly with the disappointment about the results of the Bermuda Conference. And the question arose whether oratory, even the best, could quite make up for the failure of practical diplomacy, whether a wonderful dream could replace small, stumbling steps.

For Western Europeans are convinced that the time has come for action. They entirely agreed with Eisenhower that "the coming months will be fraught with fateful decisions."

The problem is of course Germany and her rearmament; and it is *the* subject to be faced at the Berlin Conference. Western Europeans would like to believe that, as Eisenhower says, "The government of the United States approaches this conference with hopeful sincerity." For, as the *Times* of London says, the conference represents "the last chance that can be discerned for many years to come."



The Eisenhower speech launched a Western peace offensive, giving the US the initiative in the hopeful promise of the atom-for-peace that can certainly compete with the Soviet's version of peace *tout court*. If however the offensive is favorably to influence the fateful decisions of the coming months, the Berlin Conference must be a real meeting of minds, honestly without prior conditions and with the possibility of some practical success, rather than a version of the Bermuda Conference which—in Europe's view—turned out to be worse than useless.

The point here is whether the Eisenhower speech is to be translated into the raw material of policy or whether, on the other hand, it is to remain a stroke of psychological warfare. The Western European newspapers have been full of stories that the idea of the speech came from C. D. Jackson, that it was prepared long before the Bermuda Conference (rewritten 40 or more times), and that Sir Winston Churchill sulked on the beach at Tucker's Town because it made what he had expected to be *his* conference nothing more than the preface to another man's triumph elsewhere.

The Berlin Conference is the pay-off. It will provide the first, probably the determining decision of the next few months. Of what possible result is Eisenhower's Washington sincerely hopeful? There can be little doubt that the President had the conference very much in mind when he made the UN speech. In so far as psychological warfare played a part, one of the targets was certainly helping the chances (or creating them) of French ratification of the EDC.

The French delegates at Bermuda were pushed around, treated as second (or lower) class participants in the discussions. This treatment was given to two French politicians who were both ardently pro-EDC and eager to help it in their homeland, either from the vantage point of the Hôtel Matignon—the Premier's residence — or from the Palais de l'Elysée—the French White House. In being ambitious for themselves, they also were for the EDC's success.

Yet, they knew the strength and extent of doubts about the EDC in France so well, that they talked themselves blue in the face, especially Georges Bidault, in trying to get Eisenhower's and Churchill's help in practical—as well as psychological warfare—steps to lessen or remove this opposition. They failed utterly to get a hearing. Nevertheless, knowing that French opinion demands a hearing and in order to get Secretary Dulles to remove prior conditions from the joint note to Moscow accepting the Berlin Conference, they agreed to have the meeting held early, at a time decidedly not favorable to their future political ambitions. For they knew that they couldn't—with impunity—fly in the face of strong French desires for a *basic* reexamination of the whole question of German rearmament in the context of an *honest* effort to lessen West-East tension.

But lack of the prior conditions in the note didn't remove them from the agenda of the Berlin Conference. So French opinion got from Bermuda—particularly from the after-the-fact leaks—the clear impression that these conditions have in no sense changed since the last time they were presented and were found as defeating as the equally excessive Soviet prior conditions. Adding this to the Eisenhower speech, the resultant conclusion was that Eisenhower—and Churchill as well—not only expects the Berlin Conference to fail, but in a certain sense even wants it to fail.

If this is true, the purpose of the Eisenhower speech was not only largely, but even overwhelmingly to be found in psychological warfare—to blame in advance the Russians for the failure at Berlin. Moscow, therefore, would be responsible for giving the Germans their army. Only a very small minority of diehards in France deny that Moscow is already at least partly responsible. But the impression that the great Anglo-Saxon powers, also partly responsible because they are believed to want German rearmament, are deliberately looking for the pay-off from Berlin in terms of failure, is most unfortunate.

It is especially so at this time when Eisenhower has seized the chance to recapture personal leadership of the free world. The French, as the *Manchester Guardian* says, find themselves "at the edge of an icy crevasse" being urged "to take courage and leap across to the far, or European, side." They may still take the chance, but only if their Anglo-Saxon allies, acting as partners rather than peremptory masters, fully explore the possibilities of removing some West-East tension before asking them to take a step more self-denying than any asked of any other major partner in the free world alliance.

Paris FRANK GORRELL

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A JOURNAL OF OPINION New Republic

Editorial: Eisenhower's Real Decision

APPARENTLY the United States has decided that the war of the future will be a war of annihilation. This decision seems to follow from the Administration's intent to make nuclear weapons the center of our military plans.

The decision shapes the lives of every one of us, and yet it has been taken without public debate.

It exposes our allies to greater perils, and yet it has been made for them, not by them or with them.

It leads presumably to counter preparations by the Kremlin, and yet no adequate steps to defend this nation have been taken or even placed before the people.

It closes the door to further negotiations for the control of atomic weapons without attempting to determine whether new proposals might be welcome.

The Kremlin, in its reply to President Eisenhower's invitation to consider the creation of a pool for atomic power, notes that "it cannot be said that sufficient efforts have yet been made . . . by . . . all the states particularly concerned to reach an international agreement on the question of prohibiting the atomic weapon and establishing an effective international control over the implementation of this prohibition." True or false, sincere or hypocritical, this plea appears to be forlorn. The President's speech appears less and less a declaration that we are ready to co-operate with the Russians on the development of atomic power, more and more as to an oblique announcement that we are no longer prepared to negotiate with them on the control of atomic weapons.

This, we fear, is the true significance of a speech, endorsed without reservation of analysis by newspapers, columnists and men of experience such as Mr. Lilienthal, whose contribution is to embroider with more trivial details an essentially trivial plan.

Until now the United States has contemplated the employment of atomic weapons only in a third world war and only then in retaliation against all-out enemy attack. This policy dictated the maintenance of large conventional forces to wage, if necessary, a limited, conventional war.

Now President Eisenhower has authorized our military chiefs to make nuclear weapons the key to our own actions, and so, to cutback military manpower and defense spending by 20 percent or more over the next three years.

The decision to rely on nuclear weapons is further reflected in the cutback of $5 billion in next year's military budget; in the new emphasis given the Strategic Air Force; in the recent stretch-out of NATO's force goals on the grounds that reliance on new weapons permits new confidence. Now the withdrawal of two divisions from Korea is announced, at the very moment when Secretary Dulles has extended the military commitments of the United States by promising that any renewed action by the Communists in Korea will be met by full-scale war against all China. On every front our commitments are increasing in 1954; yet our military manpower this year is to be reduced by 400,000 men. Reliance on small, mobile forces armed with new weapons is cited as the explanation of these apparently contradictory moves. They follow President Eisenhower's assertion that to say that new weapons "would have no effect on the composition of the military forces would be shutting your eyes . . . to the logic of a situation of which certain facts are rather apparent."

What is the logic to which our eyes must not be shut? In the moral terms that ultimately outweigh all others, the United States already stands at a grave disadvantage as the only nation which has used the atomic bomb. The additional cost is surely enormous, if the Soviet Union comes to be recognized as the nation anxious to spare the world's cities and civilians while the United States is seen by all nations to be preparing to extend the battlefields of a war of annihilation over the homes and hovels of three-fourths of the world.

The President and his advisers are certainly aware of this danger. What are the certain, rather apparent facts that cause logic to override these moral and political considerations? Presumably they are the costs of war and preparation for war.

We dropped a ton of high explosives for every German that we killed by air action in the Second World War. Each death cost us $10,000. In Korea the costs were still higher against an enemy far richer in manpower. Fighting with conventional weapons we concentrated a dangerously high proportion of our best forces on a narrow front; we fired $2 billion worth of ammunition in one year of fighting and yet we were able only to reach a standstill against a secondary power.

In contrast atomic weapons are cheap and efficient. It is estimated that a bomb costing $1 million can destroy property worth $1 billion in an American city.

The United States has spent $10 billion as a capital investment in atomic energy. But the costs of producing an additional atomic bomb or shell today are very low. As unit costs fall, output of fissionable material is steadily increasing and is due to reach very high levels as new plants come into production. Each atomic artillery shell that we produce is as powerful as 10,000 conventional

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shells; each hydrogen bomb exceeds in explosive power all the high explosive bombs dropped on Germany in the Second World War.

In contrast to the low cost of each new atomic bomb, the annual budget for the Strategic Air Force is not far short of the entire sum that we have invested in atomic weapons. The bomb itself is not more than five percent of the total cost of an atomic air strike, and while the number of bombs multiplies each year and will go on increasing, the number of very heavy bombers that we possess rises slowly, and will be hard to maintain in war.

For these reasons, strategic air power is bound together with nuclear weapons. Bombs of growing power (and the destruction of nuclear weapons has increased 300-fold in nine years) argue for long-range operations. In turn, the increasing size and cost of our heavy bombers require more and more destructive weapons for their justification. The assumption that the Strategic Air Force can carry out a complete strategic air campaign implies, as Bernard Brodie notes in *Foreign Affairs,* that "nuclear weapons are enormously more economical than high explosive bombs." Mr. Brodie concludes:

> There is reason to suspect that because of the much greater cost of jet bombers as compared with World War II types and also because of certain advances in defensive techniques a large-scale strategic bombing campaign with high explosive bombs, especially over long distances, would simply not be a feasible operation today.

In the view of our military planners, atomic shells appear to be as efficient as atomic bombs. "It seems clear," writes Mr. Brodie, "that liberal use of nuclear weapons must contribute vastly to the effective fire power of the ground forces . . . the military useful area of destruction is limited only . . . by the locations of people whom one does not want to hit. . . ." Mr. Brodie supposes that these people may be "protected or removed." It seems more probable that they must be turned to rubble along with the soldiers that are grouped for miles around.

This is the war for which we are now preparing. "Such a war," President Truman once said, "is not a possible policy for rational men." Have we ceased, then, to be rational?

WHAT IS the impact on our own safety of concentration on atomic war? It may be that the Soviet Government is making its maximum effort to bring the battlefield to the United States. If not, our concentration on the atomic bombing of Russia is certain to lead to Soviet concentration on the atomic bombing of this country where the growing threat to its existence is concentrated.

The Kremlin, in calling once more for the enforced prohibition of weapons of mass destruction, implies that it possesses not only nuclear bombs but "rocket weapons which modern technique enables to be used over distances of thousands of kilometers without aircraft as well as torpedoes with atomic warheads and others." It would be foolish to dismiss this threat to our lives and homes as a bluff. The Kremlin already has the capacity to strike with atomic weapons. Soon, as Mr. Brodie notes, "levels of destruction are likely to be set not by quantity of weapons nor even by numbers and quality of delivering aircraft but simply by the number of larger cities exposed as targets." The Russians, supposedly so callous of human life, have countered our bombing force with the most elaborate preparations for urban dispersal and civil defense. We who value human life so highly have done very little. Interviewing himself, in *Foreign Affairs,* Sir Robert Watson-Watt asks, can the United States be defended against atomic attack? His answer is *yes,* but not without an early warning network, and "the absolutely indispensable activities of an inner radar network for control of interception and of a very large, exquisitely organized and stringently practised interceptor force." We could afford this system, he estimates, provided that we maintain our national income. He adds:

> A just appreciable reduction of the material living standards in the United States would probably be involved; but it would not be more than a minute fraction of the hardship still being suffered by every nation outside North America on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

The consideration of these measures was the original purpose for which the President's speech was planned 10 months ago. Surely it is reckless to prepare now for atomic attack without preparing for atomic defense.

There is a second question which deserves consideration before we take further steps to ensure that the war of the future will be a war of annihilation: what do we want to bring about should war come among the 600 million people who live today under Communist rule?

If we accept some responsibility for the peoples we fight, if we concede their dignity as men and their hope of redemption (and we must as a nation practicing democracy and believing in God), then our objective in wartime must be to achieve the destruction of the enemy power with the minimum loss on both sides of property and life. This purpose is wholly abandoned in a war of annihilation. And if weapons of mass destruction seem to conform to the level of hatred that has arisen between Communist regimes and ourselves, we still cherish our belief that these regimes are not representative of the peoples that they hold in subjection.

The essence of the war for which we are now preparing is that its objectives cannot be realized; its means must defeat its ends.

If we must travel the road that leads to this war, let it not be without the assent of our allies, or for reasons as trivial as those which may influence our government in its desire for military economies. Above all we must always keep open the door to agreement on the control of nuclear weapons on which man's future may turn. We may lay the blame at the Kremlin's door for whatever satisfaction that brings. But since we are first and far ahead in the atomic arms race, the world will charge us with responsibility.

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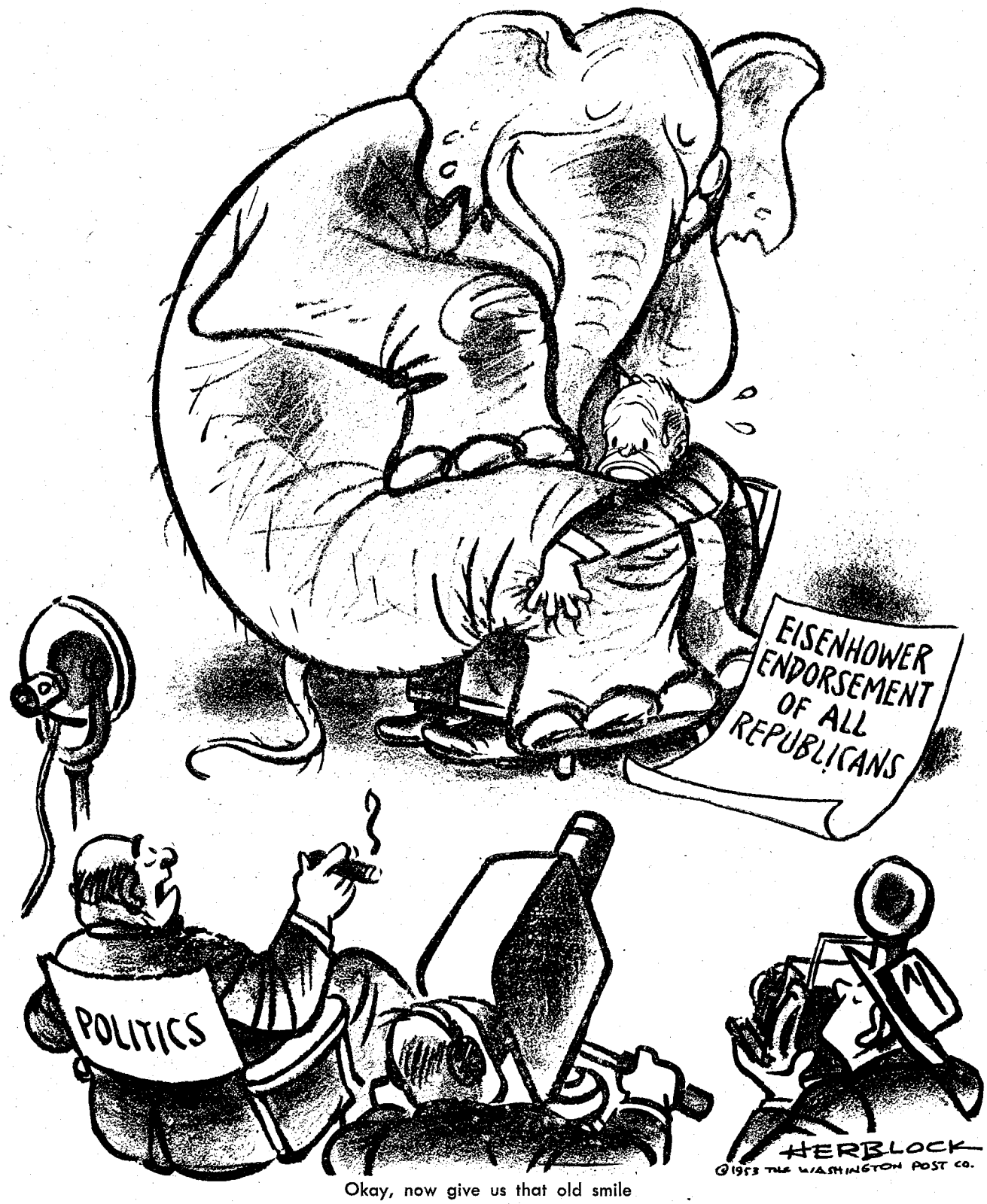
HOW 1953 LOOKED TO AND

Fitzpatrick HERBLOCK



Okay, now give us that old smile

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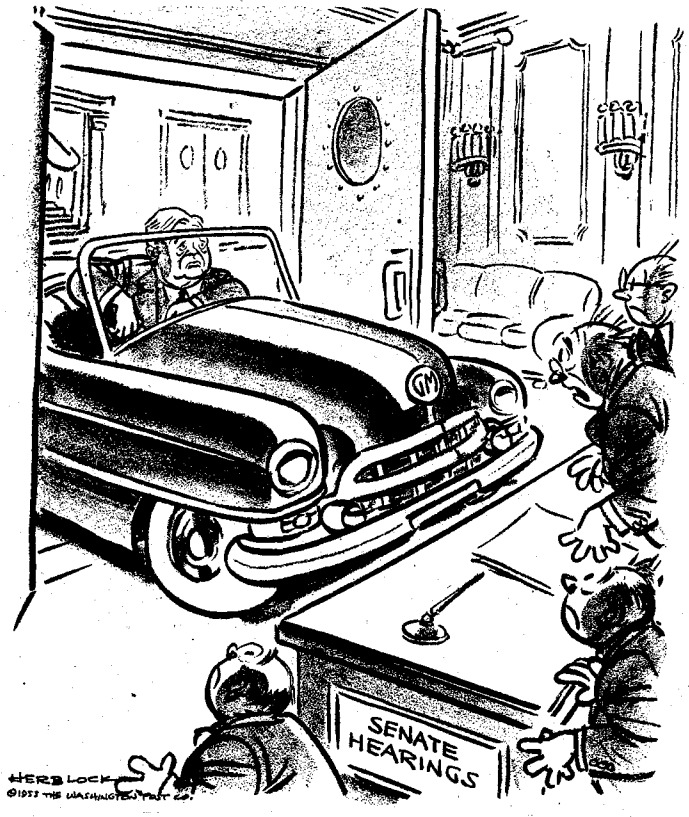
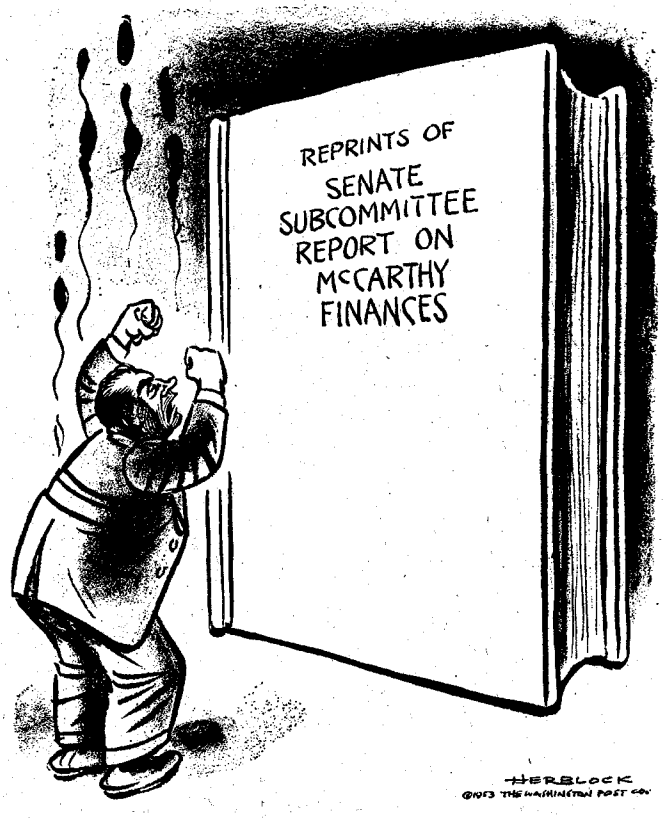


It's not customary, Mr. Wilson

Well, we were just burning a few books, and—



Book burns man

Harold, we've got to throw you to the sheep

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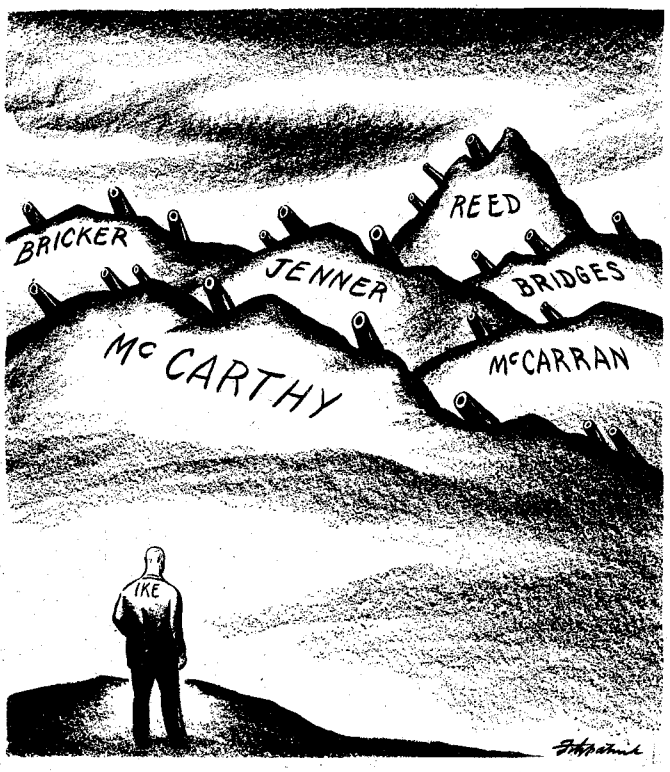
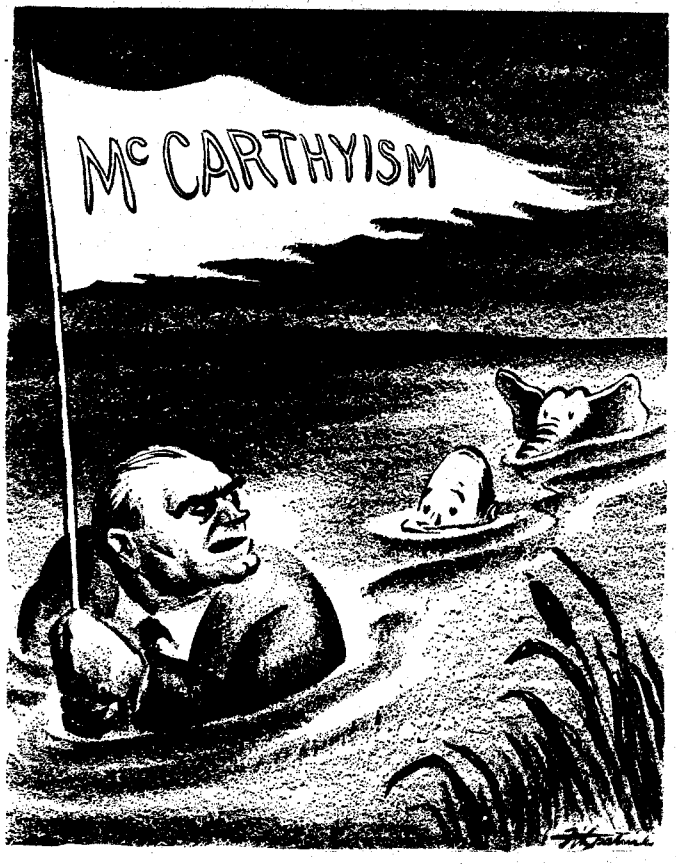


Heartbreak ridges on the home front

Is the dove of peace hatching, too?

Now the reality



Now leading the crusade

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Sliding Toward a Depression

by Paul H. Douglas

WE ARE certainly not yet in a depression and we all hope and pray that we may not slide into one.

At the same time, if we try to face facts honestly we must admit that we are now experiencing a recession. Thus a severe decline in farm income set in last spring and summer. Cattle prices fell markedly though feeding and operating costs remained virtually as high as ever. Last summer most of the wheat farmers in Illinois received only from $1.60 to $1.85 a bushel though the nominal support price was supposed to be $2.31. In the fall, the corn growers only received from $1.30 to $1.36 instead of the supposed support price of $1.61. The first group therefore only received from 65 to 73 percent of parity and the latter only 74 percent instead of the 90 percent which they were both supposed to be guaranteed under the existing law.

This decline in farm income caused the farmers to buy much less farm equipment and fewer automobiles. This has now caused heavy unemployment in the farm-machinery industry centered as it is in the Rock Island, Peoria and Chicago regions. It is leading to appreciable unemployment in the automobile industry. The decline in this and in other industries have in turn caused a decrease in steel output which for the week ending December 19 only operated at 67 percent of capacity as compared with 84 percent for the previous week and 102 percent for the same week of last year. There are other signs of trouble. Sales by a leading mail-order house were off 16 percent from the same period last year. Freight car loadings were down 12 percent, and one of the big railways laid off six percent of its force.

While the numbers of the unemployed are given by the Department of Commerce as only 1.4 million for November or the same figure as last year, there are signs that this may be an appreciable understatement. (1) A real decline came from November on and may be still greater now that the extra help hired for Christmas in the stores and post offices have been laid off. (2) The figure of the unemployed is obtained by subtracting the numbers employed from a hypothetical figure of the labor force. The size of this force was set at 63.6 million for November, 1952, but at only 63.3 million for November, 1953. This decrease of 300,000 in the numbers said to be available for work, in spite of the fact that in the past there has been a normal yearly increase of about 700,000 seems somewhat strange. There may therefore be a real understatement of the present working force and slight errors in these totals will cause very large errors in the figure of residual unemployment. For example, if it should develop that the normal growth rate had continued, the actual labor supply would be 64.3 million and the unemployment 2.4 instead of 1.4 million.

Let me make it clear that I am *not* saying this is the real figure. It is instead the maximum size of the possible error. But such considerations as I have mentioned need to be taken into account.

The danger in all this is that the decline in production, employment and purchasing power may serve to "trigger off" a chain reaction of cumulative breakdown which will spiral downward into a depression. There is far less danger of this than there was in 1929. For beginning in 1933 the government, under the party of which I am a member, introduced many stabilizing influences into the economy. These include unemployment compensation, the guarantee of bank deposits, the lessening of speculation, the placing of a floor under farm prices, etc. These should help to lessen any cumulative breakdown and should now be welcome even by those who formerly opposed them. There is still however some danger of a vicious downward spiral developing unless further steps are taken. These should include action by consumers to keep up their purchases of consumers goods, by businesses to keep up the volume of investment, and by alert and positive action by government should the present recession develop into a depression.

This change in the direction of our economy underlines the importance of the work of the Council of Economic Advisers and the Joint Committee of Congress on the Economic Report. It seems to me that it is most essential that Congress have the President's Economic Report at the beginning of the session, as provided in the Employment Act of 1946 and has been the practice during previous years. To delay its transmission until January 28, as I have been informed is the Administration's plan, would be most unfortunate since it is now more imperative than ever that it be sent quickly. The Joint Committee must hold hearings and the usual panel discussions with respect to the economic outlook and the implications of this outlook to federal economic policy. Under the Employment Act, it must advise the Congress before March 1 with respect to the main recommendations in the Economic Report. This can be done intelligently only if our Committee has sufficient time in which to give the report adequate consideration.

We should not be frightened but we should be alert, and the watchman who gives a warning to the people in due time so that they can protect their interests is serving the public more faithfully than he who administers sleeping tablets to get people to believe that all is well and nothing need be done—only to find that the danger later bursts upon an unprepared public.

Sen. Paul H. Douglas (D, Ill.) is a member of the Joint Congressional Committee on the Economic Report.

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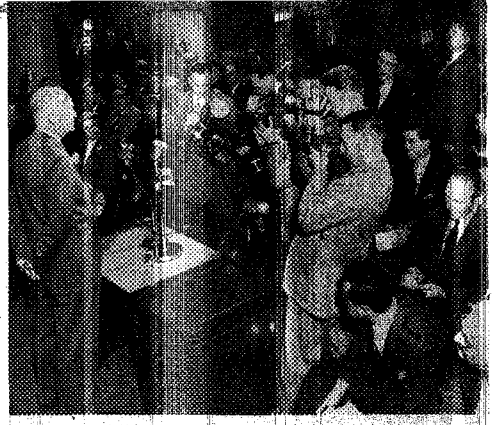
JANUARY 11, 1954

The President and the Press



A White House correspondent protests—the President's press conference is becoming a show.

by Richard Strout

I HAVE BEEN attending Presidential press conferences, man and boy, for 30 years. Recently a 20-year-old rule against direct quotation was abolished and the full transcript was released and a tape recording put on the air. I think this is a mistake, and I would like to say why.

To begin with, the Presidential press conference is a vital part of the American governmental system. Unlike other democracies the United States separates executive and legislative functions into compartments. Under the parliamentary system the prime minister and cabinet answer questions direct on the floor of parliament; in the United States the White House press conference is the substitute that has been built up in the course of time. Congress can't ask Mr. Eisenhower questions, so the reporters do. The system was only invented in the time of Theodore Roosevelt, but it is hard to see how the government would function today without it. An intolerable stress and tension would ultimately build up, I believe, if the nation did not have some direct access to the President.

The situation requires a procedure which is dignified, responsible and as flexible as possible. The public needs to know what is on the President's mind and what his mood is; if the President is wise, he will also find out what is on the public's mind, and what its mood is by the type of questions asked. There is no secret about this: it is a two-way proposition. James C. Hagerty, the able White House press secretary, agrees that the press conferences are "50-50 propositions" on either side.

Accessibility to the Chief Executive, as evolved by the modern press conference, is a major defense against the built-in danger of our Constitution that the White House will become a water-tight compartment, isolated from Congress and from the man-in-the-street.

The rules of the press conference give a strong President control at all times. He sets the number of conferences, he sets their time and duration, he recognizes the correspondents who put the questions, he can answer the questions or not, and he can do so in any form he desires. He can say "no comment"—a phrase I have not heard Mr. Eisenhower use though it was frequent with Presidents Roosevelt and Truman.

Direct quotation of limited portions of White House press conferences has been a regular tradition of these sessions for years. If a President throws off a vigorous phrase a reporter frequently asks, "May we quote you on that, Mr. President?" More often than not permission is given. But it is done after reflection. Otherwise the President's answer is put in the third person, or paraphrased, and the Chief Executive is not held to the strict letter of what he has informally thrown off.

It seems paradoxical for a newspaperman to oppose the fullest direct quotation possible. But the new rule of verbatim recording and transmission of the President's conferences as a matter of public record, I think, turns what has been an extremely handy, carefully evolved, semi-official and unique contrivance into a theatrical performance. The press conference becomes a show. Its informal, easy-going nature is changed into a self-conscious half-hour broadcast. I have been on many question panels in "meet-the-press" type shows. The atmosphere is entirely different from that at the normal Washington press conference. It would be good if this difference didn't exist, but that would mean making politicians and reporters into better studio actors than they normally are.

The President will no longer be able to discuss delicate subjects with the freedom of the past. It is true that Mr. Eisenhower has never adopted quite the same informal mood toward the press that a long line of politically-raised executives, Republicans and Democrats, achieved. Perhaps only a man used for years to a Governor's or Senator's office knows the half-comradely, half-competitive relationship of American reporter and public figure. Mr. Hoover did not come up through the political route, and his shyness and embarrassment made it doubly hard for him.

Most of the questions put at a press conference come from the same relatively small group. Reporters are supposed to be hard-boiled, but it takes a good deal of nerve to stand up before a big crowd and ask the President questions. Perhaps four out of five attending reporters don't do it. Toward the end of a conference, when the ice has been broken, there may be a half dozen or 10 of the 200 or so assembled reporters trying to get the President's eye at one time. But here the new half-hour time limit on the conferences intervenes. The collective, informal mood that frequently characterized press conferences at their best in the past is less easily developed today and will not develop at all if each reporter knows that his boss, the world and his wife will listen to what he is about to say.

The experimental new system of broadcasting tape

Richard Strout is a veteran Washington correspondent.

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recordings of press conferences puts a premium on exhibitionists. It may cause certain reporters to ask questions simply for the sake of prestige. The *New York Times* has for some months published transcripts of Eisenhower press conferences identifying reporters who ask questions and their papers. This was not done till the present Administration because reporters heretofore did not regularly identify themselves. I consider even this step debatable: perhaps it helps block irresponsible questioners, but it is a step toward breaking down the more comfortable, informal old relationships where delicate matters could be discussed easily.

The best conferences in Washington, today, I think, are those held by Secretary Dulles. The quick, casual but informed questions to Mr. Dulles develop what press conferences should be. The drag of recognizing and identifying individual reporters is absent, and publicity-seekers and exhibitionists do not block the fast follow-up that is so vital in elucidating a point. Mr. Dulles gives careful, conscientious answers and goes to some length to make his replies illuminating. Quotation is indirect only.

THE WORST press situation in Washington today, I think, is that surrounding Attorney General Brownell, who does not see the press formally at all. I am not sure Mr. Eisenhower is aware of this. He has on two occasions, I believe, referred reporters for answers to Mr. Brownell—who does not make himself available to the general press. Mr. Brownell called in five selected correspondents to disclose exclusively the selection of Earl Warren as Chief Justice. Perhaps the astute and personable Mr. Brownell feels that the Harry Dexter White case, and his precedent in disclosing information from *secret FBI files in the midst of a political row makes it* wiser for him to avoid press conferences for the time being. But in a democracy this lack of accessibility of public figures to the press is disconcerting. In times past in Washington those Cabinet officials who did not see the press often had something to hide.

The decision to broadcast the White House press conference is likely to freeze and formalize the whole affair. It raises the question of the role of different communication media in Washington. Radio and TV are certainly here to stay. Reporters may be a little uncomfortable to be made unpaid radio performers in tape recordings that officials put out without their consent, but that is a secondary issue. The fact is that Mr. Eisenhower, like any President, can get his words into the living room by radio or TV anytime he wants to make a public speech; what I ask is whether one important and established publicity medium should be weakened in order to serve as a vehicle for another. "Ah, but," it will be argued, "the freshness and spontaneity of the press conferences are what give them their special radio appeal." The trouble is that broadcasting (and later perhaps television) will destroy this very spontaneity for which it is prized. Courts of law ban radio and TV, and so far at least it is kept out of formal sessions of Congress. Kleig lights seem just as much out of place to me at the intimate give-and-take of a White House press conference.

Finally, let me say that I don't think the broadcast press conference is going to work for a reason not yet considered. I think for the President's own self-protection he will not want some press conferences broadcast, nor some passages of other conferences. The old method of paraphrasing helped to fill out colloquial elisions and syntax. It also softened the jarring impact of extemporaneous comment on domestic and foreign affairs. Some of Mr. Eisenhower's friends have already complained at the sharp questions put to him. Actually, I believe, the questions do not compare in sharpness with some thrown at Messrs. Roosevelt and Truman. They were able to meet the problem and Mr. Eisenhower is well-equipped to do the same. Questions to the President should always be courteous, but it would be a tragedy if this rule were interpreted to bar candid, frank queries of the kind that millions of Americans might like to ask the Chief Executive themselves.

But if the White House starts to edit the tape record, or if it decides it is safe to put out one performance but not another, reporters will immediately point out the omission, or that the whole conference was considered unsuitable. Won't this defeat the very purpose intended? This will be a "no comment," not to a particular question, but to an entire broadcast! Times may not always go so favorably for Mr. Eisenhower; realistically it must be faced that Presidential popularity goes up and down. How will the broadcast conference go then? There have been episodes already—not at all abnormal in a President's trying experience—where White House attaches would think twice before permitting a broadcast. On September 30 the formidable Raymond P. Brandt, Washington news chief of the *St. Louis Post Dispatch,* asked a series of questions on the Brownell news "leak" of the Warren appointment. Mr. Eisenhower flushed and hardly seemed happy. Again on November 11, when the Brownell attack on Truman in the Harry Dexter White case was up, the President faced a rain of tough questions and seemed far from at ease if not angry. It was not the kind of situation that either the press or President would find to their advantage in broadcasting.

I speak only for myself in airing these views, yet without exception the experienced newsmen with whom I have happened to talk have had much the same feelings. Personally I think it is too bad that the transcript of the questions and answers is made available for publication at all. To broadcast the performance on top of that seems to me a serious mistake. I am afraid we will go back to the completely formalized system of Calvin Coolidge. I remember seeing him stand behind his desk, thumbing through a sheaf of written questions submitted in advance with an expression of wizened distaste on his acerb features, throwing each question aside one after another and finally saying, in effect: "There were no questions today."

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LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

THE NOVELS OF GIOVANNI VERGA

by Mark Schorer

IN 1840 Giovanni Verga was born into a Catanian family of the upper-middle class with at least legendary aristocratic antecedents in a dim and distant Castile. As a boy he spent the summers in the southern village of Vizzini, where his father had another house, and as much of the winters as were made difficult in Catania by political upheaval or the plague. The division between the city and the village, between the *borghesi* and the *contadini*, was to be the great division in his literary career, as it was in his early life. At fifteen he knew that he was to be a writer, and when his schooling was finished and his father was ready to send him to the university for the nearly conventional degree in law, the boy proposed that the money be used instead to subsidize the publications of his completed *"romanzo storico"* called *I carbonari della montagna.* All legends of the fathers of literary men to the contrary, this folly was pursued—in four volumes. Yet it was a folly that committed Verga to his splendid fate: he found himself a published writer, and after his father died in 1863, he promptly removed himself to the north of Italy, where all stylish writers lived. Florence and Milan took their toll and paid their price for fifteen years as the young Verga moved into his first and false literary success.

THE HOUSE BY THE MEDLAR TREE, by Giovanni Verga, translated by Erich Mosbacher (Grove; $3). LITTLE NOVELS OF SICILY, by Giovanni Verga, translated by D. H. Lawrence (Grove; $3).

In the period between 1867 and 1876 he published a series of books with precisely suggestive titles: *Una peccatrice, Storia di una capinera, Eva, Tigre reale, Eros, Primavera ed altri conti*—all works that one might expect from a highly gifted young Sicilian who was trying to be a smart north Italian writer in the somewhat inert years after the Unification. These are novels of northern manners, of sexual intrigue in a world of fatal females and icy dandies as Verga observed them. It is interesting to note that the early hero, a young Sicilian drawn in the image of Verga, gradually gives way to the northern gallant, *freddo e duro.* Always reticent about his personal affairs, Verga yet permits us to speculate on the probability that this transformation developed to a degree in himself. There is the evidence of at least three stories written in his maturity and published in the volumes otherwise devoted to Sicilian peasants: "Caprice" and "The How, When, and Wherefore" in the *Cavalleria* volume, and "Over the Sea" in the *Little Novels.* These stories return in a softened, reminiscent mood to intrigues between ladies of fashion and a Verga-like hero, indeed, in two of them, to Verga himself, Verga referring to his own stories of Sicily, and thereby bridging that chasm between the high and the low that was presently to be positively leapt across in the career itself.

In the early work, he attempted to write in Tuscan, and the attempt, for all the popularity that some of these novels achieved, was a failure: the style as much a matter of the outsider listening and reading, as the situations were of the outsider looking—neither more sharply nor fully than an outsider could. At any rate, he was no more satisfied with the attempt at literary migration than we may assume that he was with the attempt at social migration, for suddenly, in 1874, as if in imaginative exasperation with the manner that he had developed and the matter that he was still to exploit, he burst out with *Nedda*, the true promise. This Sicilian *Tess*, with its abrupt shift in subject matter, expelled at a blow every affectation of syntax and figure that he had cultivated, and the story, told swiftly and baldly and with a certain brutality, takes its stylistic color from the dialogue of its peasant characters. Yet two more works in the old manner were to follow, and then, in 1876, after the beginning of the author's own return to Catania, four years of silence, and then the revolutionary triumph in the *Cavalleria* volume of 1880, which brings to its fulness every promise of *Nedda* in new style, new method, new subject, and which was to alter the history of Italian fiction.

Verga left an account of the origin of the style:

> It is a simple story. I had published some of my early novels. They went well: I was preparing others. One day, I don't know how, there came into my hands a sort of broadsheet, a manuscript moderately ungrammatical and a-syntactical, in which a sea captain succinctly told of some vicissitudes overcome by his ship. Seaman's talk, without an unnecessary phrase, short. It struck me, and I reread it: it was what I was looking for, without exactly having known it. Sometimes, you know, a sign, an indication, is enough. It was a revelation.

The essence of the new method, which is a certain kind of objectivity, is touched upon if not adequately accounted for in a prelude to the story of "Gramigna's Lover":

> I believe that the triumph of the novel, that most complete and most human of all works of art, will be reached when the affinity and the cohesion of all its parts will be so complete that the process of the creation will remain a mystery . . . the hand of the artist will remain absolutely invisible, and the novel will have the effect of real happening, and the work of art will seem to have made itself, to have matured and come forth spontaneously like a natural event, without preserving any point of contact with its author; so that it may not show in any of its living forms any imprint of the mind which visioned it, any trace of the lips that murmured the first words, like the *fiat* of the Creator; let it stand by itself, in the single fact that it is as it must be and has to be, palpitating with life and immutable as a bronze statue, whose creator has had the divine courage to eclipse himself and to disappear in his immortal work.

And for the third point, the new subject, and the new subject not only in the general sense of the Sicilian peasant, but of the particular special interpretation that Verga was to throw over the life of that figure, "Caprice," another story in this volume of 1880, gives us the first clue:

> When one of those little beings, either more weak, or more incautious, or more

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egoistic than the others, tries to detach himself from the group, in order to follow the allure of the unknown, or out of desire to better himself, or out of curiosity to know the world, then the world of sharks, such as it is, swallows him, and his kin along with him.

This is a clue that is to open an incipient theory of social history outlined in the introduction to *I Malavoglia*, Verga's greatest work, published in 1881.

After that came the *Little Novels*, then *Mastro-don Gesualdo*, and on these four volumes Verga's reputation rests, for as there was little of final importance before 1880, so there was even less after 1888. Years of effort went into a story of Sicilian aristocratic life, *La Duchessa de Leyra*, which was meant to continue the novel series and of which nothing came. The work that he brought to completion is minor. Mostly there was silence, twenty years of it, until he died in 1922, immortal, and in a sense, unknown.

For the drama of Verga's literary career finds no correlary in the sluggish history of his reputation. Neither in Italy itself nor in Europe at large nor in the United States has there at any time been one of those rushes of renewed interest that are the commonplaces of nearly all great literary reputations. In Italy Verga is safely canonized in every literary history of whatever complexion as the greatest Italian writer of fiction after Manzoni, and is respectfully permitted to slumber in that greatness; yet one may surely wonder whether the neo-realism of the post-war Italian novelists, whose work is among the most important in present-day Europe, would have been even possible without the example of this early master of nineteenth century *versimo*. In France, he is regarded as an imitator of Zola and, in at least one late work, *Il marito di Elena*, of Flaubert. In the United States, when he is remembered at all, and with even less justification in fact, he is taken for the librettist of Mascagni's opera, *Cavalleria rusticana*. D. H. Lawrence, who has done more than any other one man to bring the works of Verga to us, is in part responsible for this final indignity, since he wrote in the preface to his translation of the volume that contains this story, "Everybody knows, of course, that Verga made a dramatized version of *Cavalleria rusticana*, and that this dramatized version is the libretto of the ever-popular little opera of the same name." Four years after the publication of his superb story, Verga adapted it to the stage in a slightly sentimentalized version; and six years after that, two others (Targioni-Tozzetti and Menasci by name) carried the vulgarization on to the point at which we have it now in Mascagni's opera. Yet of the five translated volumes that have been published in the United States, three are by Lawrence: *Mastro-don Gesualdo* in 1923; *Little Novels of Sicily* (*Novelle rusticane*) in 1925; and *Cavalleria rusticana and Other Stories* (*Vita dei campi*) in 1928. Now Lawrence's translation of the *Little Novels* is made available once more, and to the whole group has been added Eric Mosbacher's badly needed new translation of *I Malavoglia*, under the title *The House by the Medlar Tree*. This supersedes the only previous translation into English, made under the same title in 1890 by Mary A. Craig. One may say this even though Mr. Mosbacher has seen fit to cut Verga's text, without any indication that he has done so, by at least a hundred pages. The motive would seem to have been manufacturing economy only, for the portions that have been deleted seem generally to involve subsidiary characters, and the central story of the decline of the Malavoglia fortunes remains. If something has then been lost in social richness and coherence, Mr. Mosbacher gains enormously in stylistic fidelity over Mrs. Craig, who did only a little cutting but whose translation is genteel and tepid, quite false to the downright original. It was in an introduction to the Craig version that the novel was honored by the praise of William Dean Howells, who called it "without reserve . . . one of the most perfect pieces of literature that I know."

Howells continues: "This poet, as I must call the author"—and so must we—has two great classes of characters in *The House by the Medlar Tree*: the products "or conscience and order," and the "children of disorder." Among the second he numbers the unheroic hero whom he calls "the merely weak . . . poor 'Ntoni Malavoglia." ". . . goodness brings not pleasure, not happiness, but it brings peace and rest to the soul, and lightens all burdens; the trial and the sorrow go on for good and evil alike; only, those who choose the evil have no peace." This is Howells' attempt to bring this dark, this quite non-Christian novel, nearer to those "smiling aspects of life," which he himself preferred in fiction, than it can legitimately be brought. For Verga's view of human experience is at once more desperate and more analytical than Howells' comment suggests, and this view is made clear enough in Verga's own introduction to this novel, a rare statement from the novelist which, unfortunately, no translator has yet seen fit to publish with the book that it illuminates.

It is at least an apparent irony that Verga's two tragic novels should be founded on a theory of progress; but the irony evaporates when we understand that his novels—and he projected five at various social levels—were to be concerned with the *victims* of progress, the conquered, and that the whole series was to appear under the collective title, *I vinti*.

Human society is a river that begins with low, denying springs and ends in a great, fulfilling torrent. At every point in this stream, some individuals feel that it would be desirable to be farther upstream, and the friction of their efforts to get there causes the whole to swell. The incessant wave that the total effort creates drowns many of the very individuals who are making it, and they are tossed lifeless—*i vinti*—on the shore. Verga makes the correlary in class structure quite explicitly: at the bottom, the simplest material needs (*Medlar Tree*); next, money (*Mastro-don Gesualdo*); next, social power (*La Duchessa*); next, political power; finally, total domination. At every stage, some individuals grow uncomfortable within the limits of that stage, they begin to yearn for some undefined more. And the first to feel these impulses are destroyed. It is a mark of Verga's modernity that, while he was still charmed by the idea of progress, he wished to write of it as *"Il cammino fatale,"* and it is surely a part of his greatness that, while he wished merely to observe, he made true tragedies out of this fatal modern idea.

The House by the Medlar Tree has two heroes, an old grandfather who knows only "the religion of the family" and tries to keep the oysters on the rock, and a young grandson who, still wishing to preserve that ideal but being "more egoistic than the others," has been touched by the vague desire for the unknown, the beyond, and hopes to make the oyster-life better. He brings about the devastation wrought by the sharks of the world, and is himself destroyed, and in his destruction, ruins most of his family. At every stage, he who wishes

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more for his family is at the center, and at each stage he loses them more: first their boat, then their house, then pride, at last all but the name: *ill-will.* And with that only, another grandson is left to fight his way up the stream.

All around the story of the Malavoglias is the closely woven life of the town of Aci-Trezza, a fishing village just north of Catania, lying under Etna, and in the minor characters Verga presents his several other stages in life's stream: in the corrupt priest, the political druggist, the rich landlord, the miserly entrepreneur, every scheming wife and daughter, the sad sharpies: each moved by his kind and degree of ambition, each drowning someone and all really drowned. And these are the people who figure in the separate episodes of the *Little Novels of Sicily.* The situations, in fact, echo the subsidiary situations of the novel, and nearly all of the characters seem to have their prototypes in the larger work. This is not to suggest that these stories do not have their own integrity, each its own, and the integrity of each really pointed by Lawrence's superb translations; it is only to suggest that when Verga came back to write of Sicilians, he wrote out of a whole imaginative experience.

Imagination is compulsive. It accepts a subject, even an interpretation of a subject, and it finds that a style is decreed. Or it finds the style that it wants and is then able to explore the subject that it most needs. The young Verga, a Sicilian trying to imitate Florentines, becomes an Italian who thinks in Sicilian. The young migrant, both sentimental and moralistic, becomes sensuous and moral when he finally confronts what he knows (nor merely believes) to be *la verità*—which is only to say that which he does know. The objectivity on which he prides himself is in fact a deeper assertion of the personality of the author than any he has been able to assert before: the true pity that lies in the observation itself, not in the comment; not in the colored word. And how it shines in this work of the early eighties! As we read of these people who do not know what history is, even their own (no notion of the battles in which their sons are killed, no notion of that greater Italy of which in 1863 and 1864 they are already a part); who do not know that those very *faraglioni* outside their harbor, among which their boats are destroyed in storms, have for generations been said to be the rocks that the blinded Polyphemus hurled at Odysseus; who accept without question or wonder the Homeric sunrises in which they live and cannot question the sunset toward which they aspire since they do not know what that sunset is—as we read of all this ignorance, we know where we are: in the midst of our own.

Howells may have found some peace here; but it is hard to find today. What an American writer today can find here is an apparent loosening up of the forms of fiction through a certain kind of concentration which is in fact that sense of responsibility to meaning that decrees a form. What an American reader can find here, as Howells pointed out, is the full quality of a different life from his, but lived within the same truths—although different truths from those that he saw. Even the tourist in frivolous Taormina, looking a few miles south to Verga's *faraglioni*—even the tourist who does not know what armies fought at Syracuse or what people built the temples at Agrigento, who has not read Verga, or Homer either, must feel that, under the golden air, lies an island, labor a people heavy with an ancient fate. This is Verga's great evocation—*i vinti, i vinti!*

SEEN FROM A DISTANCE

THIS newest addition to the ever growing literature on the Soviet Union, publicized on the blurb as the one volume on the subject you need if you want to read only one volume, was produced according to a now standardized formula. First comes a substantial grant from a big foundation to a big academic institution, in this case MIT. Then a staff of youthful experts is assembled and a mature co-ordinator is appointed, whose main qualification is expected to be open-minded non-expertness in the field. The choice made in connection with the book under review was excellent. W. W. Rostow is a brilliant economic historian, with only tangential contact with the Soviet problem, not enough to spoil the presumption of innocence required by the formula.

THE DYNAMICS OF SOVIET SOCIETY, by W. W. Rostow (Norton; $3.75).

The volume is first in a series aimed at providing guidance for the government "operator" and the voter behind him, according to the preface by the director of the Center of International Studies at MIT. More specifically, the present volume was to offer a synthetic based on the prodigious amount of factual information on the Soviet system accumulated in this country. It is indeed a very readable and concise summary of much of what has been said elsewhere. Whether the harassed "operator" will find guidance to policy papers (which he writes with an eye on Congressional investigating committees and on what makes *them* tick), or whether the voter will be less confused is questionable. Still, someone who wants to read but one book on the Soviet system may just as well pick this one.

The material, distilled from earlier studies of the subject, is neatly, economically and logically arranged in three parts, dealing respectively with the evolution of Soviet rule (including a spotty chapter on the satellite area), cohesive forces and elements of instability and tension in Soviet society, and very tentative conclusions based on the first manifestations of the post-Stalin era. How tentative indeed the conclusions are, in spite of the "basic" nature of the analysis, may be seen from the need to pepper the volume with last-minute footnotes warning that it has not been revised to fit developments since May 15, 1953. These developments include the smoothly accomplished liquidation of Beria who in the volume is described as one who "is not likely to permit himself to be disposed of as easily as his two predecessors [in charge of the secret police]" and as "the most substantial stumbling block," *et cetera.*

In defense of the scholars who went out on this shaky limb, it must be said that they are these days expected to produce something with "predictive value" in mind; otherwise the product is frowned upon as "pure research." Whenever left to formulate their findings in a more conservative way, W. W. Rostow and associates show admirable restraint. It is difficult, for instance, to disagree with their conclusions about tensions in the Soviet system. Desirable as a change in the system may appear to us (or to the Russian people), and substantial as the accumulation of tensions and contradictions may be, no dramatic collapse of the structure can be expected by internal developments, short of an explosive conflict at the top. Otherwise, "nothing . . . justifies an easy optimism." And, even more important, if change should come, it will not necessarily or automati-

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cally work in the interests of the United States "and common humanity everywhere."

Since there was no need to rush this volume to the already saturated market, there is no excuse for the numerous factual errors and sloppy spelling not only of foreign and some American names, but of simple words. For Litvinov to announce Russia's adherence (should be *accession*, if one wants to be technical) to the Kellogg Pact in 1926 and to "proclaim" the Litvinov Protocol in 1927 would have been quite a trick, even for an Old Bolshevik. The dates are 1928 and 1929; protocols are not "proclaimed," but signed. To say that the Council of Ministers now consists of "five members only" is ridiculous. The well-known specialist on Communism, Franz Borkenau, is listed as Borkeman, and Professor Mosely of Columbia is identified in the text as Moseley. Some people rate initials in the index, others do not. All this may seem petty, but as a teacher I have noticed that errors are somehow absorbed quicker than anything else by students, and no doubt also by the government "operator" and the voter behind him, the target "publics" of the book.

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THE ILL-MADE PLAY

by Eric Bentley

WHAT'S AN EXAMPLE of a good "well-made play"? Probably there isn't one; the term has so long been used to describe a kind of play which all the authors we like have rejected in favor of—well, sheer Truth, sheer Significance. Ibsen, said Mencken, just let the facts "tell themselves." Today, when Ibsen's plays seem to many a trifle too "well-made," it is *The Glass Menagerie* and *Member of the Wedding* that are considered utterly real. John Van Druten tells us he saw both plays three times and asked himself how the latter

> . . . achieved the things that made it so moving and so novel. Each time the method has escaped me. I can attribute this only to its total honesty, and to the author's absorption in what she was doing. She wrote nothing that was not of the deepest truth and significance to her. . . .

One practical tip Mr. Van Druten does vouchsafe us: leave out the plot. "A play that was all atmosphere, with no plot at all would be my preference." The latest play of this school is *In the Summer House* by Jane Bowles.

A young girl falls off a cliff—not altogether unaided, it seems, by a jealous friend—and is killed. That would be the central event of Jane Bowles' *In the Summer House*, if current dramaturgy respected anything as old-fashioned as a center—or even an event. The jealous friend would be the main character (if we had to have a main character) and the author's moral concern (if there had to be moral concern) would be with the degree of aid she gave in the fatal fall (murder, suicide, or manslaughter). But *nous avons changé tout cela.* The fall from the cliff, never being precisely defined factually, cannot be defined morally. The author is not interested in events and morals but in mood and psychology, that is, of course, in melancholy and neurosis.

I have already heard the unstressed, undefined fall from the cliff compared to the pistol shot at the end of *The Three Sisters*, and am reminded that Mr. Van Druten regards Chekhov as the father of the new dramaturgy. To follow up these suggestions would be unfair to Mrs. Bowles. We should discover her limitations and Mr. Van Druten's critical ineptitude, not the quality of the new play. That quality—all too derivative, it is true—derives from Tennessee Williams, Carson McCullers, and Paul Bowles, in short, from Mrs. Bowles' immediate environment. It is this modishness—which would have qualified *In the Summer House* for publication in a magazine like *Flair*—that makes people around Broadway say it is possibly too literary for the commercial theatre. The truth is, it is a good deal too stagey for literature. And too long. Though people think of drama as a condensed form, the New Drama is an exception to that—as to so many other—rules: the new plays are but short stories writ long. It is not quite true that they are structureless. They have the structure of a short story. And there is nothing to be said against this structure except that it has no room for the major matters of drama and the novel.

Looking at short stories, one would say that they cannot be blown up into plays. Yet, looking at our recent plays, one would think them all based on short stories. Some difficulty there is, of course. Even Mrs. Bowles has to pad out characters with jottings from her notes on psychoanalysis. And there is a problem of range. In a story, a phrase is enough to suggest Mexicans in the offing; in a play, you have actually to present these Mexicans; and the audience may detect that your knowledge of the Latin race comes chiefly from *The Rose Tattoo*. In a story, lyricism has to be created in words; in a play, the signal "this is lyrical" can be given by an orchestra placed in the wings. . . .

An evening of theatre, however, doesn't have to be a play, any more than a play has to be a tragedy or a comedy. It only has to take place on stage and keep us interested. *Member of the Wedding* did this, and so does *In the Summer House*, and in both cases an authoress of uncommon talent had contributed her quota. Mrs. Bowles' is the lesser talent, but she has a not dissimilar gift for evocative dialogue. Even the stageyness that might keep her from first-rate fiction is not always bad—on the stage. "If you have trouble filling up Act Two," advises Mr. Van Druten, "you will be tempted to a drunk scene," and Oscar Wilde said there was nothing to do with temptation but give way to it.

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Mrs. Bowles' best scene is a drunk scene; her best character is a drunk.

I *think* the character is hers. The possibility exists that it is Mildred Dunnock's. At any rate, a collaboration of writer and actress has produced in Mrs. Constable—mother of the child who fell from the cliff—one of the memorable figures of recent stage history, made up, you may say of current commonplaces about dipsomania, spinsterhood, and lostness, yet coming together with the force of something new. The greatest pleasure of the evening is to be found in the varied details of this role: the little fan Miss Dunnock carries in her first scene and the way she wiggles it, the fishing rod she carries in a later scene and the timid way she holds it away from her body, the fine realistic twist she gives to the standard comic business of a drunk's handling of bottles and glass (not to mention the hotdog Mrs. Bowles throws in for good measure), the towering fury Miss Dunnock can alarmingly produce at an instant's notice, the mischievous humor she has not before (that I know of) had a chance to show us.

And then there is Judith Anderson. It would be churlish to say that Miss Dunnock plays her off the stage. This other lady—mother of the other girl—is not so clearly seen, and for all I know it may be Mrs. Bowles' fault. In the last act the character seems suddenly to switch to something else and then end the play with a line I couldn't make head or tail of. Or maybe there was no character at all earlier? Just a star actress with lines? There is this about star actors, they are Public Figures; which means that the public has them at its mercy. They give a line a comic reading, and a mechanical guffaw comes from the gallery. They change into the high gear of tragedy, and "You were terrific, darling" wafts later towards their dressing room. There is a Pirandello play about a poet who, becoming a Public Figure, dies and turns into a statue. Star actors turn into statues without dying. Has Miss Anderson done so? Or can she not act in little, twitching, modern plays? (What does a tragedy queen do in an age of untragic republicanism?) Or has Mrs. Bowles not offered her a possible part?

The play was lushly decorated by Oliver Smith (though no beach scene, I suppose, suggests a beach), and competently directed by Jose Quintero. Whither Mr. Quintero goes, there goes the New Actress (named Elizabeth Ross this time), eyes popping, lips quivering, right hand sliding up the left forearm, tensely standing and staring wherever her director (too obviously perhaps) has placed her. (Slogan for the New Drama: inactions speak louder than words.)

A ROMANTIC'S LETTERS

THIS latest addition to the publishers' Great Letters Series is valuable chiefly (and paradoxically) for the editor's brilliant introduction. As a letter-writer, Byron was voluminous, entertaining, maudlin, acute, perverse; he was never Great, in the sense that Keats and Flaubert were great. Reading him *in extenso* (the Prothero and Quennel edi-

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THE SELECTED LETTERS OF LORD BYRON, edited with an introduction by Jacques Barzun (Farrar, Straus and Young; $3.75).

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tions) is a chore; reading him in oddly edited snippets, as we have him here, is a reduction to boredom. One discerns little method in the "selection"—the story is twisted, garbled, lost. Was it worth telling in the first place? If it was, this most dubious of poets, this most lamentable of men, gets his due, and something more than his due, in Mr. Barzun's introductory essay. I have called it brilliant. It is all of that. But perhaps it flashes too much, insists overtime, as a man will testify with exaggerated emphasis for a virtue in which he does not wholly believe. There is something factitious in this effort to elevate to major proportions a perennial undergraduate who was capable of light verse, surely, but incapable of poetry or of life itself. Nevertheless we can enjoy Mr. Barzun's pyrotechnics—no one sets off a prettier Roman candle—in spite of an uneasy feeling that here is another instance of Much Ado. DUDLEY FITTS

Notes on the Critics

MARK SCHORER, novelist and critic, has just returned from a year in Europe to his position on the English faculty of the University of California at Berkeley. SAMUEL SHARP is the author of *Poland: White Eagle on a Red Field.* DUDLEY FITTS has recently completed a translation of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata;* it will be published in the Spring.

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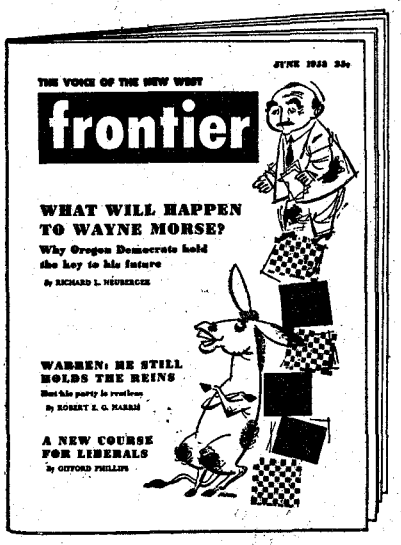
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From Our Readers

► A Scientist on the Atomic Plan

It seems to me the atomic future holds two clear possibilities (plus a set of indefinite, low probability outcomes which are difficult to analyse at the moment). One is the possibility of multilateral disarmament. It was the belief of most atomic scientists from the beginning that this was our best hope for the prevention of holocaust, even though the chances of achievement was still slender. The other was the accumulation of atomic stockpiles by three, five or even more countries.

The first is rapidly becoming obsolete. As Inglis and others have pointed out in the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists,* when the cumulated uncertainties in the accounting for fissionable material are sufficient for a saturation attack (*i.e.* when it is possible to secrete several hundred pounds out of many thousands produced without being detected by standard methods of inspection), international disarmament no longer increases security, although it may still increase wealth. Discussions as to whether the hydrogen bomb development shortened this period of grace (during which disarmament was still possible) have waged long and furiously here at Chicago. There seemed to be complete agreement only on the fact that inspection problems for the hydrogen bomb materials and plants confused the issues and made them more difficult to analyse.

I regard President Eisenhower's proposal as one which should make the best out of the second and most probable future, one which takes for granted an indefinitely insecure world environment for many decades to come. He proposes that part of our multi-billion dollar inventory become a world asset. I think that most thinking people would agree that setting up an atomic power plant network as a UN institution is our best hope, and a "free world system" would be better than nothing at all.

Eisenhower's proposal, therefore, clears the air. The US policy leading in the two alternative directions have been mapped out. The Russians still have the option of choosing disarmament. If they publicly declared their willingness to permit unrestricted access to UN inspectors—if the US did likewise—there is a fair chance that the American people could be persuaded that this is the course least likely to end in atomic warfare. Certainly the interest evinced at the last American Physical Society meeting suggests that a great many scientists would be willing to get out and speak again about the facts of survival, if all around disarmament seemed to be feasible.

Chicago, Ill. R. L. MEIER

► What We Want of Our Teachers

I was very much astonished by some omissions in Prof. William Heard Kilpatrick's article in your December 21 issue. For instance it seems to me that the article creates the impression that there was an "old" theory of education, characterized by the quotation from Dean Colet, and that John Dewey replaced this "old" theory by a completely "new" one, thus bringing about a revolution in the theory of education. But such an impression would be utterly misleading. Three names should suffice to show this: Rousseau, Froebel, Pestalozzi. Many of Dewey's principles were found before his time, especially by Pestalozzi, and one might even say that a great part of Dewey's work was the reformulation of Pestalozzi's ideas in a form suitable for their use within the American tradition.

Another omission is far more serious. Prof. Kilpatrick seems to assume that the process of education goes on in school, and in school only. A simple computation shows that this cannot be so: the child spends less than 20 percent of his waking hours in the classroom. It is well known indeed that the family has the greatest influence on the character of a child, or in Pestalozzi's words: "A good mother is the best educator. As forming a personality is too great a task for any single agency, co-operation of the three great educational centers: Family, Church, School, is essential for success."

As Professor Kilpatrick has said, colleges criticize the "progressive" (quotation marks essential) school mainly because it fails to produce good college students. They do not mean by this that the high-school graduates do not know enough facts—indeed all the facts needed as a base for college education could be taught easily in two years of high school. They complain instead that their freshmen have no intellectual curiosity, and that they have not learned to correlate ideas. I refuse to believe, however, that the inadequacies of the new school are only due to its newness, believing as I do that they are largely due to the fact that tries to do more than it can achieve, and therefore achieves less than it could.

Albuquerque, N. M. OSWALD WYLER

I noted with interest Mr. Kilpatrick's article "What We Want of Our Teachers." While I am, in general, in favor of most of the ideals and methods of progressive education, and while I believe, as Mr. Kilpatrick does, that the movement represents a very substantial advance over the older educational disciplines (at least in so far as it encompasses and at the same time transcends the aims and ideals of the latter), I nevertheless find much in it that is disquieting. While Mr. Kilpatrick acknowledges, at the outset, that the older "cultural" ideal contained much of value, he seems, in his concluding paragraph, to treat it almost with contempt; and I get the impression, from the essay as a whole, that no thought or contemplation, no intellectual or cultural discipline is to be valued unless it can be carried over directly into the affairs of every-day life. And while I agree that what is done in schools should be "relevant to the human scene," I also believe that disinterested contemplation, which is not intended to subserve any subsequent action, and knowledge for the mere sake of knowing, for the familiarity with and love of cultural objects that it brings, is as much and as important a part of the "human scene" as knowledge for the sake of action.

A READER SAYS: "Your story of 'The Trial of Harry Truman' was excellent. Best analysis of the White case I've read."

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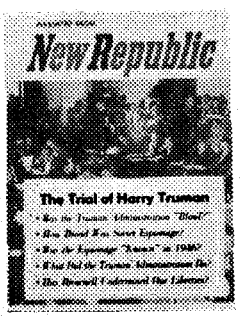

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In many cases progressive educators have tended to play down this aspect of the human scene; often to ignore or disregard it entirely, as though it were some useless superfluity, some anachronistic excrescence upon a culture whose sole end and object should be unremitting practical action in the day-to-day. I find this tendency deplorable, in so far as it tends to do away with one of the most cherished and valuable aspects of civilization; if followed to its logical conclusion, it would make most of the creative arts, and the disinterested contemplation of them—which is, I feel, the finest and the best fruit of civilized culture—a kind of useless frivolity. I admit that ivory towers are not the best places to take up permanent residence; but surely there is no harm in visiting them once in a while.

Individual intellectual superiority used to be considered a sign of merit and promise, nowadays it is often regarded as a pathological symptom in that it sets the child apart from the norms of his age-group peers. These evils and excesses are not, of course, what the founders of progressive education would have wanted; but that they have taken root in the theory and can be eradicated only by a critical re-examination and revaluation of the theory, is, I believe, reasonably certain. Therefore, I feel that the criticisms of the literary humanists are, at least in part, well taken.

Renton, Wash. LESLIE F. BLANCHARD

► A Formidable Weapon

One of the most effective defenses of the new Administration is the thin religiosity which it has ringed round itself, and which settles like a haze on many of its activities and ceremonies. It is not religion, but religiosity, which relates to religion the way Edgar Guest does to Shakespeare. With some exceptions (including no doubt the President), it is no more grounded in religious experience and aspiration than Mother's Day is in American social history. It is in fact a constant public pulsation of sentiment which sancitifies any kind of behavior at all. I never saw a public figure go to church so often in my life as the President does. Upon reflection, I suppose Franklin Roosevelt was not less faithful in attendance; but he was doing so many new adventurous things as Chief Executive that his normal, private, weekly religious act went virtually unnoticed.

But the haze of the new religiosity is a formidable weapon. It presents the Administration's critics with serious strategic difficulties. As a sentiment, it is something the little band of the unscruplous can ape without effort. And the rest of us, whether challenging McCarthy or questioning the President, are made to sound as though we favored the instant abolition of Sunday Schools. It is a brilliant piece of defense-work—thin as smoke, impenetrable as iron. I do not see how the Democratic leadership can do much about it; it is a monument of tastelessness which many or most would think it tasteless to try to expose. Perhaps some elements in the press can go at it ironically. I understand that Cabinet meetings now begin with a prayer. Let us be resolutely in favor of prayer; but a hard look at the political and economic and international realities would help. A Massachusetts clergyman once offered to pray over a stretch of barren ground; Emerson, who was present, suggested mildly that what the situation required was a few bags of manure. So far as one can tell, Emerson was not a Communist.

Princeton, N. J. R. W. B. LEWIS

► Three Ways of Swearing

I have just read Professor Laing's article "Three Ways of Swearing" (*NR*, Dec. 28) with great enthusiasm; it is a happy marriage of practical thinking and noble ideals. Yet I like his conclusions better than his assumptions. He argues for academic freedom and against special oaths for teachers on the ground that a teacher's duties are special ones requiring special safeguards: "To say that teachers should not object to what other servants of the public must do is to ignore the very special, dual nature of the teacher's task: to find what truth is, and to convey what is true." And he contrasts the lawyer's mind, which "is doing its best half of the time to establish something that is not so," with "the task of the teacher, whose mind, by dedication and specific training, must all of the time seek to establish what is so: the truth. If we expect him to do that, his mind has a special claim to be free of all arbitrary restraint."

It seems to me that a teacher ought to be free of special oaths, not because this task of his is special, but because it is the typical task of the citizens of a democracy. One of the most important functians of the high schools and liberal arts colleges is to help students prepare themselves for the responsibilities of citizenship; and what are these responsibilities if not "to find what truth is, and to convey the truth"? The teacher's duty to the truth does not differ from that of the citizen.

When we speak of the teacher's freedom, we separate it from other people's freedom. We call it "academic," as if it were a special privilege of their own, but it certainly is not. It is the same freedom whose use the teacher tries to impart to his students. As William Kostka had pointed out in an article about the Broyles Bill, which threatened a loyalty oath in Illinois, "While the professors were objecting to the signing of a loyalty oath because they were being separated from the rest of the population, they encouraged that separation by insisting on 'academic freedom'. The political rabble rousers aided them and hurt them at the same time by making 'academic freedom' mean a cloak to protect the Communist sympathizers on the college campuses.

"To make people understand, it was necessary to find a new term that would affect all people, not just college professors. . . .

"It was 'intellectual freedom'. 'Intellectual freedom' was important to everybody. It was important to me as a businessman and a citizen because it gave me the right to discuss any subject I please, including Communism, with my friends and neighbors. It would be important to me were I again an editor for it would mean that I had the right to criticize my government and its officials and to review the governments or acts of other countries. It would be important to me were I a student for it would mean I would be free to study any subject I pleased. It would be important to me were I a professor."

Galesburg, Ill. SAM MOON

► A Democrat's Plight

Chesterton's lines describe our plight:

Our earthly rulers falter, the people drift and die,
The walls of gold entomb us; the swords of scorn divide;
Take not thy thunder from us, but take away our pride.
From all that terror teaches, from lies of tongue and pen;
From all the clever speeches that comfort cruel men,
From sale and profanation of honor and the sword,
From sleep and from damnation, Deliver us, Good Lord!

Ottawa, Ill. JAMES A. WAGONER

► Is This the Answer?

In seeking a solution to the problem of Japan, it might be wise for the United States to lower her tariff barriers against our Western allies.

Cedar Rapids, Iowa FREDERICK J. MILLER

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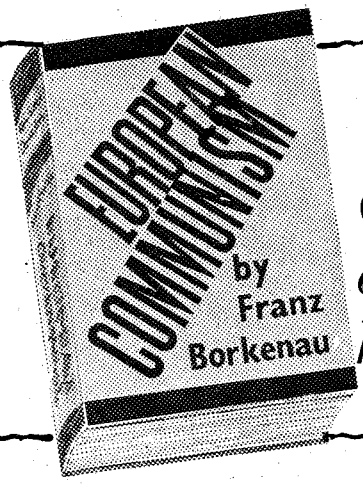

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